3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *tɔk*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ara*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ara* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ara's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ara's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ara*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

He learned to approach game with patience, caution, and quietness; learned to take advantage of vegetation, of physical features, and of the wind; learned how to make a surround—lessons which would be valuable in real hunts when he grew up. He came to understand the signs of the prairie, how to observe the habits of wild animals, to know where they might be found, and how they reacted under different conditions.

A boy was allowed much liberty, and although his parents were firm, he was seldom scolded or punished. He was not expected to perform any menial labor about the camp and was always treated with great consideration, for "he is going to be a warrior and he may die young in battle." 858

The Comanche boy in his daily life was learning to be self-reliant, but at the same time his play habits were fostering manly comradery. Most of the daytime hours of the pre-adolescent boys were 857

[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases.

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely.

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on.

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga-

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940). [113]

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilisation, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction. [113]

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/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John, maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who
C keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
K by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
[428] after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is working her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the presence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts. Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

. . Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horseback. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the second or third time they came to the store after their last year in school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-si-qui-na*.

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start.

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs.

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group.

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases.